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ABSTRACT

There seems to be a link between traditional Judeo-Christian morality and successful school administration. Interviews of more than 200 practitioners in the Chicago (Illinois) area reveal that public school practitioners and religious practitioners often share similar values. Further, site studies show that the policies of the interviewees agree with their responses. By advocating the practice of morality in schools, Durkheim reinforces the validity of the relationship. Traditional Judeo-Christian values involve accepting the present authority; strong adult control over children; an emphasis on good behavior; collectivism; respect for traditions; religious activities; and equality. In successful schools, adults have authority; hard work and good behavior are stressed; pride in the group is expressed; rituals are important; and students are considered equal, regardless of accomplishment. The conservatism of Edmund Burke and contemporary functionalism support the claim for tradition. Practitioners can conclude that morality is a valuable resource; moral sentiments should be communicated to one another; hierarchy should be observed; equality should be practiced; reward and punishment should be practiced; tradition is a significant source of authority; rituals can convey values and inspire artistic expression; religion in licensed schools should be serious and nonsecularized; and effective preaching (urging listeners to apply ideals) contributes to the success of schools. Included are 27 references. (RG)

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SCHOOLS AS MORALLY GOVERNED INSTITUTIONS

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Many public schools are --and should be--morally governed institutions. This proposition is tediously evident and distressingly provocative. And such governance affects both the forms of administration of schools and their styles of pupil management and instruction. After all, it is unlikely that a morally administered school will present amoral instruction or vice-versa. As tradition recites, as we live, so we teach. Later, I will define morality in more precise detail. For the moment, it will suffice to say it means a set of relatively superordinate, specific, long-persisting values which receive broad collective sanction. In Western society, these values are often--perhaps usually--are founded on traditional religious beliefs, such as the Ten Commandments or other Judeo-Christian principles. This is not to contend that all persons sympathetic to such values must be associated with formal religions. Sympathetic persons may even include agnostics and atheists who simply recognize that traditional moral values provide an appropriate framework for the operation of socialization systems affecting children and adolescents (Campbell, 1975; Skinner, 1971). The proposition is evident, because through most Western History--and, to some degree, even in pre-Christian Greece and Rome--such principles were the foundation for the then equivalents of elementary and secondary education. For instance, in these classic societies, maxims, such as honoring one's parents or displaying courtesy to guests, were routinely reiterated in the materials put before pupils by their elders, tutors, and teachers (Cohen, 1964).

More recently, through the nineteenth century, American public educators took it for granted that substantial doses of traditional Judeo-Christian values would be transmitted to their pupils (Tyack & Hansat, 1982). In this

process of instruction, it was assumed teachers would simultaneously model the virtues they preached. In many public schools, these patterns continued until well into this century.

In other words, there has been a twenty-five century history of schools being deeply embroiled with traditional morality, in general, and formal religion in general. It seems unlikely that, given such persistence, this embroilment would be simply extinguished in perhaps twenty to thirty years. Thus, my proposition is evident.

However, it is now unconstitutional for American public school teachers or administrators to formally refer to traditional religion or religiously related values in a deliberately favorable light. They are only licensed to treat them as a neutral subject of study, just as students might also study the Democratic party, the history of prohibition, or innumerable widereaching social forces.

In effect, I have just outlined an anomoly between the relevance of traditional moral values to school administration and the contemporary eclipse of such relevance. The anomoly is even more remarkable, since extensive research by my students has generated empirical evidence that, at this time, there is a strong relationship between such moral values and effective school administration. Such empirical evidence can also be supported by substantial precedents and analysis.

QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

During their research, my students, over many years, have interviewed over two hundred Chicago area school educators, about half of them principals. These interviewees were employees in public and private, elementary and

secondary schools. The interviews aimed to define each subject's philosophy regarding education. That philosophy was defined in terms of the specific education practices he or she favored, e.g., modes of supervision, systems of pupil grading, policies regarding discipline (Wynne, 1980, 1985).

The interviewers were trained to ask questions which required relatively definite answers, e.g., what proportion of a principal's classroom visits if any, should be announced; what dress requirements should be applied to teachers. The checklist used covered about 120 items, although not all interviews covered all of those materials. Perhaps twenty percent of the interviewees were employed in church-related schools, which often (but not always) were Catholic. Some of the Catholic interviewees were sisters, priests, or brothers. Certain typical patterns of replies were understandably adduced from such committed persons and the patterns bore a logical relationship to their religious commitments. But it was striking that many of our public school educators gave largely equivalent answers (as these religious interviewees) regarding many matters of school policy.

It is true that not all religious interviewees gave similar replies. Perhaps fifty percent disclosed patterns of what might be called traditional religious replies, and another fifty percent gave more diffuse or secular/individualist answers. On the other hand, traditionalist public educators also accounted for about fifty percent of the public school replies. Some of these traditionalist public educators even mentioned they were not formally religious, and almost all of them distinguished themselves from the traditionalist religious interviewees by distancing themselves from the practice of formal religion (e.g., prayer in schools). But on many

educational issues, the traditionalist public and religious educators showed relatively similar patterns of values.

In addition to such structured interviews, my students have also conducted hundreds of comparatively elaborate site studies of the actual practices and policies of many Chicago area schools. Some of the studies were accompanied with thorough interviews, and others lacked this element. From the studies, it is evident there is a strong relationship between the clearly pro-tradition answers of administrators in focused interviews and the actual policies applied in their schools. For instance, principals whose moral values were strongly sympathetic to hierarchy tended to monitor their teachers more deliberately and stress good pupil discipline. This congruence is not remarkable. Indeed, it would be striking if there were strong discrepencies between the actual practices of institutions and the concrete values of their administrators.

My students' research in schools did not include the collection of data about test score performance by pupils to permit interschool comparisons. The enormous diversity of the schools studied made the collection of comparative test score data impractical. Thus, estimates of school efficacy based on my students' data are, in a sense, indirect; while school processes can be compared via the data collected and certain plausible inferences made, the research involved lacks the rigor that can be provided by test score comparison. However, the extensive site examinations involved in the procedure has provided intriguing insights.

So much for historic precendents and the contemporary proceding data. There are also other reasons to conclude that my proposition about the

application of traditional morality in contemporary education makes good sense.

Pro-Tradition Authorities

Important twentieth century intellectuals--such as Durkheim--have contended that schools should strive to practice and communicate traditional morality (1949). A careful reading of Durkheim's work will disclose that the values he hoped elementary and secondary schools would transmit would be little different from those favored by the Judeo-Christian tradition. Durkheim's main break with tradition was his secular focus.

He proposed "substituting" loyalty to the state for loyalty for religious agencies. Of course, many religions do not directly oppose national loyalties, but religions typically imply that such loyalties are finally subordinate to a higher morality--typically personified as God. Durkheim's proposal is important; it discloses that an engaged and respected authority thought schools should be morally governed institutions (as I have defined the term). If Durkheim believed this, it is likely that other concerned persons share his belief--or may have arrived at similar conclusions on their own. Maybe many educators have travelled Durkheim's route and are now running schools that way. That is what the interviews imply. It is true that some other philosophers and authorities have not echoed Durkheim's plea.

Lawrence Kohlberg (1981), at least in some of his writings, has favored a more open-ended approach to morality, with greater room for pupil input than traditional approaches favor. And, while John Dewey's writings are somewhat ambiguous, he did formally associate himself with the Humanist Manifesto (Nom de plume, 1971), which was a direct disavowal of traditional moral-religious

patterns. Furthermore, a number of popular, but unsystematic authors have made similar proposals (Glasser, 1969; Kohn, 1967; Kozal, 1972). These authors have had an important impact on popular (and some professional) opinions. Thus, one might say that many elements affecting contemporary American education have been unsympathetic to the idea of schools practicing and transmitting traditional morality. We have a form of ordinal distribution, which might be characterized as (a) traditional religion, (b) Durkheim, tradition minus religion, and (c) Dewey and Kohlberg, et al, critical of both religion and tradition. But analytically speaking, there is important evidence for the approaches of traditional religion and/or Durkheim. It has been the educational desideratum for twenty five centuries. That is an impressive precedent.

What is Traditional Morality?

Apart from the conflicting arguments of various authorities, another techniques of analysis should be considered. One can abstractly study the relationship between "traditional morality" and what might be called the principles established by effective school research. For, as we will see, there are many parallels between these two bodies of theory and practice. But such a comparison will require us to consider a more specific definition of traditional Judeo-Christian morality (Wynne, forthcoming).

Traditional Values

1. The acceptance of existing hierachy: Christ said, "Render unto Cesear.." In the same century, St. Paul recommended that developing Christian communities give fealty to existing forms of civil authority. The Jewish tradition gives great emphasis to the deference due elders.

It is true that, on special occasions, there has been some religious sympathy with the tradition of active resistance to evil. And, in our own era, we have seen the rise of so-called liberation theology. Still, despite these occasional variations, the main current of the tradition has been the acceptance of existing, legitimate authority. "Legitimate" means that the structure of authority rested on some body of accepted principals which placed constraints on those in authority. Justice for individuals was not largely pursued through resistance to authority, but more via interpersonal relations or it was attained in the after life.

2. The legitimacy of strong adult control over children and adolescents. The simplest instance is the Fourth Commandment: "Honor thy father and mother.." And, beyond the Commandment, Christianity only gradually initiated children into full participation into church life. Judaism followed equivalent patterns and treated children as subordinates until they had attained maturity through Bar Mitzvah.

The tradition recognized adulthood as the outcome of both a developmental process--the passage of time--and a learning process--as the child, over ten to twenty years, became enculturated as an adult and completed appropriate rites of passage. The maturing child found himself provided with an increasing pool of rights and responsibilities. Final attainment of adulthood however, involved defacto certification by the adult community. Before that attainment, the child was generally subject to adult authority.

3. The priority given to immediate good conduct--over more elaborated ratiocination. Thus, there were proverbs, deprecating, "Words without deeds," and mentors transmitted principles focussing on forms of conduct--charity,

obedience, humility, chastity. All of these principles relate to matters of visible conduct. Visible conduct can be observed and monitored, while it is notorious that words may mask, as well as reveal, our states of mind. Furthermore, analysis may become a device for avoiding straightforward but uncomfortable action, to the detriment of the persons affected. Or, in any event, this was Shakespeare's point about Hamlet.

4. Great emphasis was given to the life of collective entities. The congregation, the parish, and the family (nuclear or extended) were focal points of human life. The persisting assumption was that people were to choose to accept committments and be prepared to sacrifice on behalf of the whole. Considerable thought was given to the mechanics through which families and religious communities recruited and enrolled new members. They applied techniques such as marriage, confirmation, adult baptisim, or the foundation of religious orders which enrolled and formed adult volunteers. All of these concerns have implications for the operation of many communities of choice--including schools and programs in schools.

5. The knowledge for the past must be revered. The very idea of holy books and commands from God signifies that certain knowledge has been inherited and must be honored by and transmitted to children. This recognition does not directly ignore the concept of dynamism and change but treats such developments as subordinate to already revealed information. Today, we too often feel awkward or unsympathetic toward transmitting and revering such traditional messages. Sometimes this discomfiture is excused by criticism of such messages as unscientific, and sometimes we take revisionist approaches to historical materials. These forms of dismissal fail to realize

the elements of myth and symbolism which underlie all important bodies of belief.

6. Beyond the day-to-day business of buying, selling and producing, there was a sphere of life reserved for sacred activities. It is no coincidence that Durkheim (1965) gave prominence to the concept of the "sacred" as metaphysically distinct from mundane, material life. His distinction is generally consonant with the spirit of traditional religion. Sacred activities, despite their separation from the secular, materialistic world, provided an important resource for human fulfillment. Sometimes, sacred activities were private, such as individual prayers, but even such prayers were regarded as a dialogue between the individual and God; and high proportions of such sacred occasions were group gatherings, typically centering around semi-aesthetic activities, e.g. Bible readings, hymns, sermons, processions. The activities often solemnized rites of passage or rites of concentration (where groups or individuals symbolically concentrated their energies to meet some moment of emotional or physical test).

7. All community members, despite their temporal, material, and intellectual differences are equal as children of God. Hierarchy and differentiation should prevail for certain necessary reasons. That hierarchy, however, was not some ultimate set of God-ordained values which finally assessed human worth. As St. Paul said, "every man among you should not think of himself more highly than he ought... For as we have many members of one body, and all members have not the same office... Mind not high things but condescend to men of low estate." The necessary judgements of human agencies did not displace the final conclusions of the deity.

In our own times, there is a propensity to justify our beliefs in human equality on political and ideologic grounds. Unfortunately, such grounds are profoundly threatened by the many variations in human competency disclosed by common sense and scientific research. In actuality, the concept of a moral equality--as proposed by religious tradition--and the concomitant recognition of difference and hierarchy may be a more viable base for equalitarian belief and action.

The preceding catalogue is obviously not exhaustive, but it is suggestive. Despite its limitations, the list indicates there are important parallels betwen the Judeo-Christian tradition and many value issues affecting contemporary school life.

Applying Traditional Values in Schools

Some researchers have contended that it is difficult for administrators to apply traditional moral values in public schools, due to the impediments generated by contemporary ideologies and democratic interest group politics and legislation (Chubb & Mal, forthcoming). These contentions appear sound, but they do not foreclose the application of traditional values; they simply make them more difficult than in the past, when more uniform support of such values prevailed. However, even today, unusually vital public school leaders still apply such values--with appropriate, and tacit adaptations. And such tradition-conscious educators are the ones now running what we choose to call "effective schools" (Greenfield, 1986; Purkey & Smith, 1983). Their effectiveness of such schools is really founded on the traditional values their principals and faculties--whether they are religious, agonostic, or atheist--are applying in the face of resistance.

In effective schools, adults are unquestionably in control. Fair, firm and appropriate discipline is applied. Such insistence has nothing to do with oppression. It is simply regarded as an acceptance of traditional, transitional adult responsibility and a means of transmitting wholesome values to young persons. Furthermore, teachers in such schools respect their principals, follow the directions they receive, and expect similar obedience from students.

In the effective schools my students identified, much emphasis was given to stimulating students to practice good conduct--as well as maintaining discipline (see also Blase, 1968). In almost all such cases, such good conduct focussed on immediate, simple acts of helpfulness: crossing guards, fundraising for good causes, tutoring other students, or engaging in numerous extra-curricular activities where cooperation and helpfulness were important components. We might contrast such matters of immediate focus with efforts to enlist pupils in more remote concerns by the order of five to one. It appears that such an imbalance is consistent with the tradition I have identified. He who would reform the world should first reform himself.

Effective schools have identities as schools, and usually their subsystems--classrooms, teams, and clubs--have equivalent vitality. Teachers and students display loyalty to, and have pride in, such entities. Because of such commitments, they care about the other members of these groups. They try to make the groups work, in their own individual self-interest and in the interest of all.

Ceremonial activities are important in effective schools. Even where legal provisions prohibit the expression of formal religious feelings,

celebrations of patriotic, memorial and periodic holidays provide for the enhancement of collective identities and wholesome group values. Many such occasions, incidentally, are times when the members of the school are encouraged to recognize their common ties with external agencies and persons: the nation or state, older persons or deceased generations, or other parts of the world. The occasions are also opportunities to express the values of the school through activities such as awards ceremonies, pep rallies and farewell gatherings.

All children of God are equal before God, if not before man. And, in effective schools, all children, regardless of their different levels of performance, have the same worth as human beings (Lightfoot, 1983). This concept is subtle; it does not deprecate the expression--or even encouragement--of different capabilities in academics, sports, or other areas. And excellence is worthy of recognition. Still, despite such celebrations of difference, all pupils retain a certain basic core of worth. Adults in the school attribute the same high value to this core in all students. Thus, the Judeo-Christian tradition provides a powerful model of an environment where both achievement and equality were deserving of recognition.

Anti-tradition Schools

The preceding general remarks may appear to recite the evident. Who is really against hierarchy in schools? Aren't we all in favor of students practicing immediate acts of helpfulness? And don't we all believe in the innate dignity of every human being? In other words, how do my assertions rise above trite truisms?

The fact is that many themes underlying the Judeo-Christian tradition are ignored in many American schools.

To be direct, take the matter of hierarchy. In many schools it is next to impossible to fire or terminate an unsatisfactory teacher. For many principals, authority over teachers rests on tenuous and uncertain grounds (Bridges, 1986). It is true that some principals have overcome such obstacles by the exercise of determination and ingenuity. However, those exceptional principals make my point.© In too many schools, the answer to the question, "Who's in charge?" is very obscure.

Turning to the matter of "Honor thy father and mother," it is rare for educators to directly criticize such sentiments. But the pursuit of novelty is a popular pattern with many educators. This pursuit often undercuts the values of parents. Thus, when schools determine to "struggle" against sexism, correct the parochialism of certain adult communities, or otherwise foster certain forms of "progress", they are simultaneously undermining the status of adults who hold such "flawed" values (Franza, 1986). Often, those adults are the parents of school children. Now it is true that distinctions must be drawn in such matters. New information is inevitably discovered in the world. Thus, the process of schooling will sometimes make pupils, on certain topics, more informed than their parents. However, there is a profound distinction between teachers providing pupils with limited factual information which may be unknown to some parents, and teachers regarding themselves as licensed to actively undermine basic values which parents want their children to possess. Excellent schools strive to stay sensitive to this distinction. Some poor schools are prone to place themselves in the position of crusaders and strive

to mobilize pupils against values which are crucial to their parents. It is true that we can imagine parental values--perhaps supporting Nazi antisemitism--which schools should undermine. However, the tradition emphasizes that such acts of intellectual subversion should be carried out only after grave and open deliberation.

Restatement

So far, I have--

*** Argued that schools, throughout most history, have transmitted traditional values;

***Cited empirical evidence, derived from contempary educators, about their (sometimes) sympathy for traditional values;

***Cited other evidence about what actually occur in schools, including their (sometimes) application of traditional values;

***Referred to diverse arguements about what values schools should be applying, citing twentieth century authorities

***Defined "traditional values";

***And argued that effective schools, as we can infer from the literature, applies such values.

My final theme will amplify the significance of our previous twentyfive centuries of eduction experience. In other words, the issues underlying this paper partly relate to policy--a prescriptive matter. Should schools strive to practice and communicate what I have called traditional values in their operation? Is it a good idea? If so, we can try revising current policies to make it easier for educators to apply such approaches. If it is a bad idea, we can strive to further suppress the efforts of such traditionalists.

The Case for Tradition

Long before Dukheim, there was a substantial and persisting body of thought which has favored the application of traditional approaches and values in schools and other public institutions. Probably its most prominent English speaking proponent was Edmund Burke (1766). His arguments can easily characterized, and deserve direct consideration.

Human societies, and their subsystems--such as schools--are extraordinarily complex. If any society or subsystem has persisted for long periods of time, and displayed powers of adaptability, we should assume that its components and philosophies have peculiar strengths. The relationship among many components is extremely subtle. Observers often cannot detect or forecast what effects novel or dramatic changes may have on such a system. Furthermore, the proponents of analysis and change will rarely be neutrals. Instead, they represent parties or forces with their peculiar interests to urge.

In contemporary sociology, this perspective of Burke's has been restated into the approach labelled "functionalism," (Levy & Cancian, 1968). And in a general sense, the parallels between Burke and functionalism are sound. But it would be incorrect to contend that either functionalism or Burke mean that all persisting systems are "right" or that their components have "appropriate" relationships with each other. However, both theories do signify that persisting systems often rest on complex relationships which are not easily detectable or foreseeable and that, as a result, significant change parts of such systems will usually produce unexpected, and often distressing, effects. Persons who make assertions about forseeing all such effects are usually in error.

Burke's recommendation was that efforts to change persisting institutions should proceed incrementally and give great weight to the special (though unmeasurable) value of existing precedents. Drastic prescriptions, and their proponents, should be viewed with special suspicion. For Burke, traditional religion was an important example of an elaborate, persisting institution of notable value.

Within a comparatively brief period of historical time, American schools have moved a long way from the traditions lauded by Burke and many of our own predecessors. Many of the more recent changes in education were encouraged by groups of intellectuals and planners critically characterized by Burke. Supposedly, the changes were aimed to produce beneficial effects in education, in relatively short periods of time.

Burke's reactions to such proposals would be predictable. He would have forecast that many of the changes would fail or lead to worse situations than previously existed. Furthermore, the changes would give increased authority to the office holders, administrators, and intellectuals who proposed them in the first place--even if they did not work very well. The changes would only be imperfectly implemented, due to their tendentious and short-sighted nature, and growing popular and intellectual resistance. Indeed, in many areas of education, Burke would predict that formally discredited previous doctrines would stay in place or revive due to the deficiencies underlying the new approaches. Gradually, the supporters of tradition would gather strength and attempt some form of counterrevolution. Whether and how that effort will proceed cannot be fairly predicted.

The special nature of schools--they focus on children and adolescents--lends a unique significance to that the preceding forecast from Burke. Undoubtedly, the proportion of sacred activities in the public institutions has declined over time in Western societies. Occasionally, dire predictions have been uttered as to the meaning of that decline (see, e.g., Johnson, 1983). The forecast just attributed to Burke represents another example of such predictions. And it may be that the fears underlying those forecasts are exaggerated. Perhaps, Burke to the contrary, quasi-religious values are superfluous in modern Western society.

Most major Western institutions--business, trade, agriculture, and war--have been at least semi-secularized for many centuries. And, to some degree, this semi-secularization has succeeded--it has not generated conspicuous adult disorder. But, in contrast to these secularized institutions, education, in much of the West, kept its sacred elements until well into the twentieth century. And my pupils' research implies that, even today, many formally secular public schools, in covert fashion, still tap important sacred themes.

Maybe there are special characteristics about the education of children and adolescents which dispose educators (and parents) to persist in injecting traditional and sacred elements into formally rational, individualized secular education: to strive to transmit patriotism and to appeal to higher values, elevated aspirations, and immediate moral concerns. It may be that some of the educational reform efforts of the past 15-20 years have even had their own priorities affected by some distorted desire to transmit themes to pupils. For example, the concern with environmentalism among some educators partly represents a semi-mystic fixation with the transcendant elements in our

natural environment--akin to the spirit of pantheism. And some rare and endangered animal species appear to have taken on sacred aspects for some concerned persons. But these invent-a-religion efforts are flawed by the utopianism and materialism which pervade much of our secular life.

Evidently, most parties of these contemporary educational controversies realize that educating children is special. It inevitably has certain sacred elements. Unfortunately, the formally sacred has been driven from many other areas of public life. As a result, it has become difficult to determine the right mix of the sacred and secular to apply in public schools, or even frankly confront such issues.

The so-called effective school movement is a classic example of intellectual power of Burke's overall analysis.

The Implications of the Movement

Effective schools are essentially quite traditional schools. As I have already argued, they apply the Judeo Christian ethic. Adults act responsibly, accept accountability, and display commitment. They view all pupils as valuable. They set standards, require pupil discipline and affirmative good conduct, and treat learning, drill, homework, and grades as important.

The most interesting thing about the effective school movement is not the discovery of such schools. Instead, it is the very idea that such values and practices should be set aside or forgotten by some people of prominence.

The causes for such forgetfulness are as old as the hills. Running effective schools--like living a moral life--is hard work: not always fun. Furthermore, the effective school approach gives primary emphasis to the educators on the spot, and not to the social planners, or the legislators who

establish or fund new programs or offer the promise of magic, painless nostrums. The approach does not even favor the progress of novelty. We can surely do some things to increase the proportion of effective schools. However, it is sobering to realize that good educators must, in general, be people with vital traditional virtues. All common experience tells us that persons with such virtues, while they certainly exist, will always be valuable and probably scarce goods. Perhaps the world would be a happier place if we could invent some improved means of instruction that did not make such strong demands on practitioners but we cannot. Indeed, one reason secularization is popular among some educators is because it removes from their shoulders the burden of being good examples.

Implications for Practioners and Researchers

My general remarks provide a backdrop for a variety of concrete suggestions for practitioners--either administrators or teachers--and researchers.

***Running an effective school, or being an effective teacher, is hard work. An important part of the motive for such sacrifice comes from the moral element of the work. That element need not draw upon formal religious belief. However, it is evident that such a belief can be a valuable resource. In effective schools, whether they are secular or religious, this moral concern is transmitted to the adults involved and often to the pupils.

***Educators must work at communicating a moral sense to one another, and defining its substance. This implies frequent formal and informal meetings, appropriate ceremonial occasions, and well-drafted formal and informal documents, addressed to all members of the school community.

***Leaders must lead, followers must follow legitimate authority, and all school community members must recognize that their roles as leaders or followers will vary according to different occasions.

***The Judeo-Christian tradition of equality must be translated into action in education; it signifies that all community members--including children and parents--have contributions to make to the school, though those valued contributions are still set within a framework of appropriate hierarchy.

***Reward and punishment are inevitable elements of the ethic. Both academic learning and good and bad conduct should be subject to appropriate, vital responses. It seems obvious, but must be reiterated that only the good should be rewarded and the bad must be consistently and speedily punished.

***Whether a school is religious or not, tradition should be viewed as an important source of sanction. This can mean either the traditional values of the country, the school, or the classroom. The assumption is that many centuries of human experience have gone into refining such experience. It is unlikely that the pupils' (or teachers') generation has discovered some dramatic, new, and beneficial way of revising that knowledge. Incidentally, as far as curriculum goes, this proposition has evident implications for the teaching of history as distinct from the amorphous and pretentious subject, social studies. As for the teaching of literature, the material presented should represent the best of our cultural inheritance.

***Ceremonies can be important means of symbolically transmitting school (and social) values and simultaneously stimulating aesthetic expression (e.g., via drama, singing, recitations, costumes).

***Where a school has the legitimate license to express religious values and traditions, that expression should be relatively serious, unabashed, and consonant with the general principles articulated. Religious schools should not popularize and secularize their traditional message. (For a dramatic instance of such fidelity, see Peshkin, 1986.)

***A powerful relationship will prevail between the moral perspective of the school and its formal means of organization and pupil groupings. In other words, the school's forms of organization--school size, division of grades in the school, terms of the union contract, procedures for hiring and supervising teachers and principals--all have important implications for the practice of the tradition in any school. Time will not permit me to cover this issue thoroughly. But it will be useful to realize that traditional religious communities put stress on small, persisting groups, where entering members were carefully socialized, and where intergroup solidarity and universal accountablity to concrete moral principles were stressed. Administrators and principals should examine the norms which have evolved in their schools and systems and attempt to diminish the barriers to contructive relationships which may have formed.

***Something should be said about the tradition of "preaching." And by "preaching," I mean urging listeners to apply high appeals in an imaginative, forceful, and engaging fashion. For diverse reasons, that tradition has acquired a bad image in our era. But there is good preaching and bad preaching--just like good or bad teaching or other complex human activities. It is true that, even with good preaching, some persons (even pupils) may resist such presentations. However, such

resistance is often not as widespread among pupils as teachers think. And, in the tradition, there are innumerable instances of vital and eloquent preachers overcoming audience resistance. Unfortunately, one frequent element of effective preaching is good role modeling--always a cumbersome obligation for adults. In any event, skillful preaching is part of running an effective school.

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